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THE UTRECHT PSALTER.

REPORTS

ADDRESSED TO

THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
ON THE AGE OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

BY

E. A. BOND, E. M. THOMPSON, REV. H. O. COXE, REV. S. S. LEWIS,
SIR M. DIGBY WYATT, PROFESSOR WESTWOOD,
F. H. DICKINSON, AND PROFESSOR SWAINSON.

WITH A PREFACE BY

A. PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D.,
DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

With three Facsimiles.

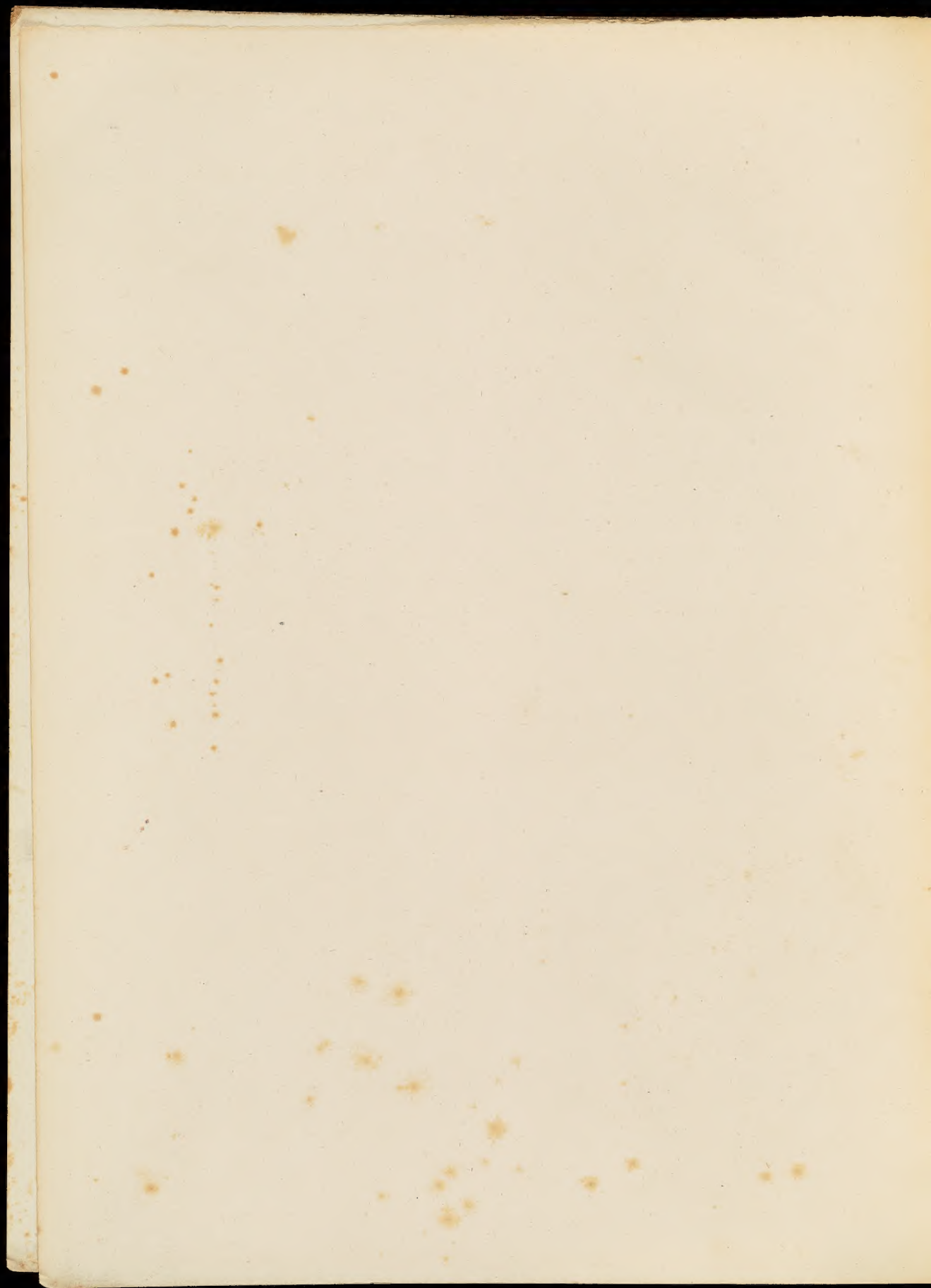


WILLIAMS AND NORRIDGE,
14 HENRIETTA ST., COVENT GARDEN, LONDON: AND, 20 SOUTH FREDERICK ST., EDINBURGH.
MDCCCLXXIV.

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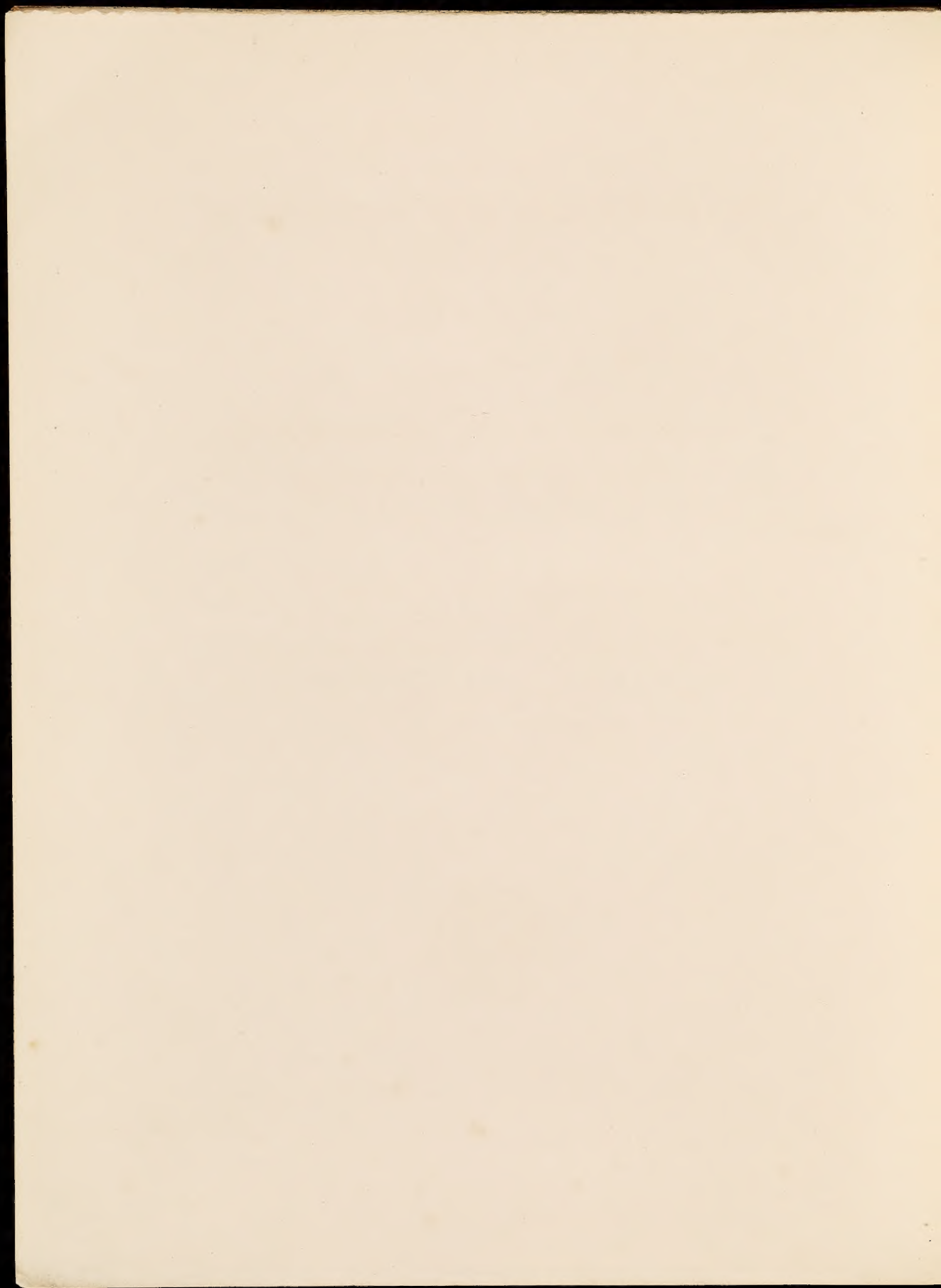
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On the Age of the MS.



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P R E F A C E.

IN the discussions occasioned by the proposed permission to disuse in the English Church the recitation of the Confession of Faith, commonly called the Creed of S. Athanasius, a subordinate controversy arose amongst scholars as to the probable date of the Creed. This date had been variously fixed from the middle of the 4th Century to the beginning or the middle of the 9th. One of the elements of this Chronological question was felt to be the age to be assigned to the Manuscript usually known as the Utrecht Psalter, which having once formed part of the Cottonian Collection has, at least since the early years of the 18th Century, been the property of the University Library at Utrecht. Inasmuch as this Manuscript contained what was supposed to be the earliest copy of the Creed, considerable attention was attracted towards the document. "Impressed with a sense of its importance, the present Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Dr. Ellicott, requested the Master of the Rolls to obtain, if possible, a photograph of the MS. from the authorities of Utrecht. He believed, that if it could be proved that the early age in which the MS. is supposed to have been written could be shewn to be correct, it would entirely remove a prevailing impression that the Creed was a forgery of the 9th Century. Lord Romilly thereupon through the cordial assistance of Earl Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, obtained from the Trustees of the Academical Library at Utrecht a photograph of several portions of the Manuscript."*

On this photograph, at the request of Lord Romilly, an elaborate report was made by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. In this Report, printed for the Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Hardy arrived after much learned argument, palæographical, artistic, and historical, at the conclusion that the date of the Manuscript must be placed at the close of the sixth Century,† and that it was probably brought to England by Bertha, Queen of Ethelbert,‡ and by her bequeathed to the Monastery of Reculver.§

The interest naturally attaching to the opinion of so distinguished an antiquarian—of which the importance was enhanced by the great stress laid upon it in a Public Meeting held at St. James's Hall, soon after it was made known—led to further inquiries, which issued in an application on the part of the Trustees of the British Museum to the authorities at Utrecht to allow the Manuscript itself to be transferred for a time to the British Museum, and there deposited for inspection. This by the kindness of the guardians of the Utrecht Library

* "The Athanasian Creed in connection with the Utrecht Psalter, being a Report to the Right Honourable Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, on a Manuscript in the University of Utrecht, by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records," p. 10.

† Ibid. p. 11—32.

‡ Ibid. p. 32—36.

§ It should be added that the Appendix to Sir Thomas Hardy's Report contains the Reports on the date of the Psalter by two learned Dutchmen—one the Librarian of Utrecht, Dr. Vermuelen, who decides that "it belongs to the 8th or 9th Century (750-850) (p. 39); the other, Baron Van Westreenen van Tiellandt, who concurs in the opinion of Haenel, "placing it in the 6th Century as an intermediate epoch." (p. 42.)

PREFACE.

was permitted, and thus the scholars and archaeologists of England have, for the first time since the Manuscript left this country, had an opportunity of examining it at leisure.

At the request of the Trustees of the British Museum, the most distinguished of these sent in their several Reports on the question of the date of the Manuscript.

SIR THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, after investigation, has seen no reason to change the opinion expressed in the Report above mentioned.

The Reports of the other gentlemen, by permission of the Trustees, and with the consent of the writers, are published in the following pages. Their conclusions may be thus briefly given:—

1. MR. E. A. BOND, KEEPER OF THE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, concludes that it is not earlier than the end of the 8th Century, and is disposed to assign it to the 9th.

2. MR. E. M. THOMPSON, ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, concludes that it cannot be assigned to an earlier age than the close of the 8th Century.

3. THE REV. H. O. COXE, LIBRARIAN OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AT OXFORD "cannot see reasons to conclude that the MS. was written before the commencement of the 9th century."

4. THE REV. S. S. LEWIS, LIBRARIAN OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, "concludes that he should not feel warranted in assigning it to an earlier date than the 9th Century."

5. SIR M. DIGBY WYATT concludes that its date is "certainly not earlier than the 7th or 8th Century"—"probably about the middle of the 8th."

6. PROFESSOR J. O. WESTWOOD, author of "Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS," etc., concludes that it is "of the 8th or 9th Century at the earliest;" and that the drawings cannot be previous to the 2nd Council of Nicæa, (A.D. 786).

7. MR. F. H. DICKINSON, whilst offering some interesting remarks, does not express any opinion on the age of the MS.

8. THE REV. C. A. SWAINSON, NORRISIAN PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT CAMBRIDGE, AND CANON OF CHICHESTER, concludes that the MS. "cannot be much earlier than the middle of the 9th Century, and may be considerably later."

At the end of the Reports will be found three facsimiles in permanent photography, by Messrs. Spencer, Sawyer, and Bird, of pages of the Psalter; selected as specimens of both the writing and the drawings of the Manuscript.

The first represents the second page of the text, and shows particularly the use of golden uncial letters in the first line of the Psalm, together with the manner of work of perhaps the best draughtsman of the illustrations.

The second gives the drawing for the 95th Psalm and the text and drawing of the 96th. In the writing will be noticed the various forms of the mark of contraction, and the abbreviation of *t* for *tur*, which is of frequent occurrence in the Manuscript. The drawing exhibits the jagged outlines of the draperies referred to as characteristic of English work of the 10th and 11th Centuries, and the classical origin of the design in the River God.

The third has the text of parts of the 105th and 106th Psalms, with the illustration of the former. It has been chosen on account of the fine execution and interesting subjects of the drawing, which shows an antique origin in the beautiful treatment of the oxen at the plough, and in the emblems of the Sun and Moon. The forms of the ships and the details of architecture are also deserving of attention.

A. P. STANLEY.

Report to the Trustees of the British Museum from Mr. E. A. Bond, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum.

BRITISH MUSEUM, 22nd July, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to submit to the Trustees the result of my examination of the ancient Manuscript Psalter, formerly belonging to the collection of Sir Robert Cotton, and now the property of the University Library of Utrecht, which by the liberality of the Curators has been temporarily deposited in the Museum on loan.

The volume in which it is contained consists of two distinct manuscripts, viz. 1st. The Latin Psalter with Canticles, Gloria in Excelsis, Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, the *Quicumque vult*, entitled "Fides Catholicam," and the apocryphal 151st Psalm: 2nd. Fragments of the Gospels of Matthew and John, in Latin, with Jerome's Prefaces.

The Psalter has been a separate book, and the condition of its last page shows that it has been at some time unprotected by covers.

The Gospel fragments are written in fine uncial characters, of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century, and are only accidentally connected with the Psalter by having been bound with it at some comparatively recent time—in all probability by Sir Robert Cotton.

The description of the Psalter itself may be summarized as follows:—

The vellum is leathery and wants the fine surface of a very ancient manuscript.

The gatherings are of eight leaves, folded one within the other.

The writing is between double lines and in three columns.

The ruling is by a dry point between vertical lines, beyond which a margin of an inch extends; but all the margins have been much clipped.

Illustrative drawings in outline occupy the breadth of the three columns.

The text is written in Roman Rustic Capitals, and the words are run together, with only the necessary breaks to mark the alternations and terminations of the verses.

Titles are in red uncial letters.

Initials of the several verses are also in coloured uncials, standing in the margin a little apart from the text.

The first lines of the earlier Psalms are in letters of gold.

The manuscript is fully punctuated throughout, by simple points (not in the form of a comma) and by the virgule and point in the forms of a modern semicolon and the same reversed.

Abbreviations are of frequent occurrence, and not only of the names of the Deity, as *Deus*, *Domínus*, *Jesus*, *Christus*, *Sanctus*, *Spiritus*, but of ordinary words, such as *qm* for *quoniam*; *nr* for *noster*; *oms* for *omnes*; *tra* for *terra*; *aetm* for *eternum*; *pat* for *pater*; *c* for *con*; *n* for *non*; *b.* for *bus*; *neg*; for *neque*; *t* for *tur*; *rnt* for *runt*; *st* for *sunt*; and others.

The marks of contraction are of three forms; 1st. a horizontal slightly curved line, fine and raised a little at the extremity; 2nd. a line turned in opposite directions at the ends and slanting upwards obliquely to the right; 3rd. a modification of the same, in which the ends are both turned inwards.

Accents are occasionally used; as sometimes over the preposition *a*, and over *o* in *os*.

The initial letters of the Psalms are plain and uncoloured and about half an inch square, excepting that of the first Psalm, which is 2½ inches long and of an ornamental design, having, on a gold ground edged with red, a knotted line pattern, with colour of a stone blue shade introduced in the upper extremity.

Of individual letters the *y* is almost always dotted, and there are no specially archaic forms.

The diphthong æ is written sometimes combined, sometimes as distinct letters, and most often as e with a cedilla.

The n and t are occasionally combined at the end of a word.

The drawings intended to illustrate the subjects of the several Psalms extend across the page. They are drawn by the pen and are not framed. At the beginning of the Psalter the figures are slightly shaded, and the execution is firm and skilful, with careful treatment of the limbs and attention to proportion. But the first and best hand soon ceases, and the remainder of the subjects are by different and very unequal draughtsmen. There are some exceedingly interesting designs towards the end, but the figures are generally exaggerated in action and out of proportion, the hands, legs, and feet entirely without shape, and the dress represented by a roughly drawn jagged outline, in the style common to English drawings of the 10th and 11th centuries. Faint outlines of figures, generally corresponding with those in the drawings, can be detected in some of the lower margins and sometimes in the body of the drawing itself.

Many of these illustrations are found in the Psalter of the 11th century in the Harley Collection, No. 603. Some are exactly similar in design, but generally additions are introduced in the later copies with differences in costume; and it is remarkable that many of the series in the Harley MS. are altogether different from those in the Utrecht Psalter.

From this description of the MS. the probable age of it may be inferred. Although some particulars point to an early time, others, and those more numerous, prove it to be later.

The use of Roman Rustic Capitals, and the arrangement of the text in three columns, in themselves might be taken to indicate a time prior to the 7th century, but the abbreviations, the forms of contraction, the punctuation, the coloured initial letter of the first Psalm, the writing of the first lines in golden letters, are unmistakeable evidences of a date so late at least as the end of the 8th century. The earlier characteristics may be, and in other instances are found to be, carried on in more recent times, but the free use of late forms cannot be anticipated.

The use of Rustic Capitals for occasional purposes, such as titles and arguments, was common many centuries after it was discontinued, as far at least as Manuscripts now extant show, for entire books.

Instances however can be produced of the use of Rustic Capitals, even for the greater part of Manuscripts, so late as the 9th or 10th century. In the Harley Collection, No. 647, is a copy of Cicero's metrical version of the Treatise of Aratus on Astronomy, with the Commentary of Hyginus. The Commentary is written in Rustic Capitals within figures of the Constellations, drawn in an antique style and occupying the greater part of the page; while the text of Aratus is written below, in Minuscles of the beginning of the 10th century. The reason is obvious. The MS. was copied from a much older one; and, in order to keep up the likeness of the figures, it was found convenient to preserve the forms of the letters in the writing within them. But so misleading is the appearance of the Rustic characters, combined too with the running together of words, as in the Psalter, and the antique drawing of the figures, that Ottley the Art Historian actually wrote a long, elaborate, and expensively illustrated dissertation, in the *Archæologia*, to prove that the Harleian Manuscript was of the 2nd or 3rd century.

In the case of the Psalter there is evidence in the illustrative drawings that it has been copied from an earlier original. The drawings in the first MS. extended across the page, as was common in early times, and the text was written in three columns, and therefore, for the same purpose of preserving the original arrangement, the form of letters as well as the three columns was repeated. I may refer to a 9th or 10th century copy of the Bible, in the Additional MS. 24,142, for an instance of the continued use of the arrangement of the text in three columns, accompanied with other ancient appearances, evidently transferred from the earlier MS. it was copied from.

That the Rustic Capitals are not genuine characters of the 6th century is evident from their comparative weak form and irregular setting. The first aspect of the writing conveys this impression most forcibly; and that the impression is correct is proved by the numerous indications of late work revealed in almost every item of the description of the manuscript.

The use of what may be called the semicolon proper and inverted is hardly seen in Manuscripts before the end of the 7th century, and is not common till the end of the 8th or 9th. In the Psalter the two forms are freely used throughout, and have every appearance of having been inserted, as was the common practice, by the reviser of the Manuscript.

The occurrence of numerous abbreviations of words other than the names of the Deity, in Manuscripts in capitals and uncials, strongly implies a late date; more especially when such forms of abbreviation as *t* for *tur* are met with. The frequent use of this contraction is alone conclusive evidence of the late date of the Psalter. But not only are the abbreviations numerous, but the marks of contraction are of late form. The slightly-curved line, inclining a little upwards to the right in a fine stroke, may be occasionally met with in Manuscripts of the end of the 7th century, but cannot be considered to be in full use till the 8th, and is the ordinary form from that period for some centuries. The oblique line turned contrary ways at the ends is rarely found till late in the 8th century, but is frequent in the 9th and following centuries. The variation given to the same form by turning the line inwards at both extremities with terminating points, and so producing a simple curve, is also rare before the 9th and common in that and the following centuries, even to the 12th.

The addition of a point over the letter *y*, found throughout the Manuscript with rare exceptions, is also a decided mark of late age; as is the discontinuance of the practice of reducing the size of letters at the end of a line, in order to complete a word.

Still stronger and more decisive of a later age is the illuminated initial letter at the beginning of the first Psalm. This has been erroneously stated to be of Irish execution and of early date. The form of the pattern used in the ornament is certainly derived from ancient Irish work, but the whole design of the letter and colouring, including the outer edging in red to the gold ground, is unmistakably of a different—probably the Anglo-Frankish—school. A close resemblance to it will be found in the ornamental initial letter of the first Psalm in the Cotton Psalter, Galba A. xviii, which is a foreign Manuscript of the 9th century.

To this school and period belong also the golden writing of the first lines of the Psalms in the earlier part of the Manuscript; and in entire agreement with these is the practice of colouring the initials of the verses, and placing them in the margin a little apart from the text. And as further indication of late age may be noticed the absence of a running title in the upper margin.

In turning from the writing of the Manuscript to the illustrative drawings we find additional evidence of late date. Although there are traces of antiquity in the designs, as in the architecture, objects of furniture, and general treatment, by the side of these are proofs of later age, and it is apparent that the drawings are copies made some centuries after the date of the original designs. In the instances which have been preserved of drawings in Manuscripts prior to the 7th century, the forms of the figures retain the fulness and roundness of the Classical period; whereas these in the Psalter are thin and sketchy, the limbs having no substance or contour. The contrast between the two methods of drawing is very strong. On the other hand, if compared with acknowledged works of the 10th and 11th centuries, the connexion of the drawings in style of execution with this later manner of representing the figures is equally apparent. They are in fact Gothic in their style; and cannot easily be conceived to be of a period when the Classical method was still imitated. The covering of the legs is the wrinkled hose, not the sandal. The Crucifixion is fully represented, and Our Saviour's form is uncovered to the waist, a practice referred to 9th Century innovation in Histories of Christian Art.

These are the principal grounds on which I consider it impossible to refer the Psalter to an earlier time than the end of the 8th century, and am more disposed to assign it to the 9th.

In the preceding remarks I have concerned myself solely with the question of the probable age of the Manuscript, because on that rests its importance in reference to the so-called Athanasian Creed, the occurrence of which at the end of the Psalter has been the occasion of bringing it into so much notice. In respect to the Creed it might be argued that, granting that the Psalter is a Manuscript of the 9th century, it has every indication of having been copied from one of far higher antiquity, and that this would also have contained the Canticles, Creeds, and apocryphal Psalm. I am of opinion however that, if it were so, the apocryphal Psalm would not have been found where it is in the Utrecht Psalter—at the end of the Manuscript, after the Canticles and Creeds—but rather after the last Psalm. It seems to me more probable that all the additions to the actual Psalter ought to be assigned to the period of its transcription. We have an instance of the apocryphal Psalm being subsequently added to a manuscript Psalter of about the date A.D. 700, in the Cotton MS. *Vespasian A. 1.*, where it occurs on an inserted leaf, showing that it had not been included in the older manuscript from which this Psalter had been copied. On the other hand, its position after the Canticles and Creeds is an indication of the Manuscript being not later than the end of the 9th century, from which time it is commonly found in its proper place immediately after the Psalms themselves. In a Psalter of the 9th century, in the Museum (Royal Collection, 2 B. v.) of English use, it is placed as in the Utrecht Manuscript.

Reasons other than palæographical have been alleged for placing the Psalter as early as the 6th century, such as that the version of the Psalms is the Gallican, and that, as the Roman version was introduced into England in the 8th century, the Psalter would be of a date earlier than that. There must be something very unsound in this argument, for in the Museum Collection of Psalters the greater number of those of the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries are of the Gallican version. These too are of English use, having English glosses.

It has been endeavoured moreover to give a remote history to the Psalter, and to trace its introduction into England to the arrival of Bertha, daughter of Charibert, King of France, as the wife of Æthelbert, King of Kent. The presumed evidence is found in the fact that an original Charter of Lothair, King of Kent, to Bercuald Abbat of Reculver, of the year 679, was at one time in the volume containing the Psalter. It is argued from this that the book must have belonged to the Monastery of Reculver, that it would have been given to the Monastery by Queen Bertha, and that it was removed to Canterbury either when Bercuald became Archbishop, or in 999, when the Monastery of Reculver was dissolved.

But there is an error at the bottom of this legend. It was not a custom in early times to bind the title deeds of Religious houses in books. Far from it: they were folded up and preserved in proper repositories for use, not stitched into service books for ornament, and the incessant litigation in which Religious Houses were involved brought them constantly into law courts. The insertion of the Charter in the volume containing the Psalter could not have been before the time of Henry the Eighth's suppression of the Monasteries. It no doubt was placed there by Sir Robert Cotton himself, whose taste for enriching favourite volumes by such means, carried him to the length of mutilating precious manuscripts. He bound the Gospel Fragments with the Psalter because they were of the same form, and were both very ancient manuscripts, and he added the Charter as suiting them in size, and as a specimen of equally old writing. But it has been overlooked that the Charter was placed, not with the Psalter, but at the end of the volume, after the Gospel Fragments, as is evident from the table of contents on the fly-leaf at the beginning; so that there never was any proper connexion between the Psalter and the Charter. Nor, as far as appears, is there a trace of the Psalter having ever been a Canterbury Manuscript.

Nothing, in fact, is known of the history of the Manuscript prior to its appearance in the

library of Sir Robert Cotton; excepting only, that in the lower margin of folio 60b an entry, in a hand of the middle of the 16th century, can be made out, of the name "Mary Talbott," now nearly obliterated.

In Sir Robert Cotton's Collection the volume was originally numbered 207. It subsequently had the press mark Claudius C. VII.

In a manuscript catalogue of the collection drawn up in Sir Robert Cotton's time, in the year 1621 (Harley MS. 6018), the Psalter is described under the number 207 in the following terms, "Psalmi dauidis latine literis Romanis (que in usu circa Imperii inclinantis tempora) exarati, iisque majusculis, cum schematis non impari vetustate passim intertextis."

Archbishop Ussher, in his treatise "De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Synodo," published in 1647, speaks of having examined the manuscript when in the Cotton Library. And, in fact, a letter from him to Sir Robert Cotton, dated on the 12th of July, 1625, is extant (Cotton MS. Julius C. III. f. 1509 b.) in which he speaks of having borrowed four Latin Psalters, three of which were of the Gallican use; and no doubt this manuscript was one of them, and that he examined it at this time. But he returned it to Sir Robert; for among some later memoranda at the end of the Catalogue of 1621, already referred to, under a general heading of "A note of such bookes as have been lent out by Sir Robert Cotton to divers persons and are abroade in their hands att this daye the 15th of Januarye 1630" [1631], is a list of volumes lent "to my Lord the Earle of Arundel" (fol. 173 b.) among which occurs the Psalter, under the description of "An Auncient coppie of the Psalmes literis maiusculis, in latin, and pictures: bound in redd lether with Sir Robert Cottons Armes, fol." It is not entered in the classed Catalogue of the Cotton Manuscripts of the year 1674 (Add. MS. 8926; and Harl. 694 f. 214); and in the printed Catalogue of the Collection, published in 1696, it is still wanting.

It appears therefore that the Psalter was lent to the Earl of Arundel between the years 1625 and 1631, and had not been returned by him at the latter date.

Nothing is heard of it from this time till the year 1718, when it was presented to the Library of the University of Utrecht, as recorded in a memorandum on the fly-leaf of the manuscript.

The identification of the volume, as formerly of the Cotton Collection, and the first public notice of it in England, are due to Professor Westwood of Oxford, who wrote an account of it for the Archæological Institute many years ago.

EDWD. A. BOND.

Report of Mr. E. M. Thompson, Assistant-Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum.

BRITISH MUSEUM, 22nd July, 1878.

Mr. Thompson has the honour to report to the Trustees that he has examined the Utrecht Psalter, and that he has come to the conclusion that it cannot be assigned to an earlier age than the close of the 8th Century.

He will briefly state the reasons which have led him to form this conclusion.

The body of the text of the Psalter is written in Rustic Capitals; the titles to, and in some instances the opening words of, the psalms, as well as the initial letters of the verses, being in Uncial letters. The words are written continuously, without spaces of separation between them, except at the pause in the middle of each verse.

MSS. having their text written in Rustic Capitals, and without separation of words, are generally to be accepted as of great antiquity, and not later than the 6th or 7th century. But that this character was sometimes used for the text in comparatively late MSS. is proved by

the existence of the Aratus of the Harleian Collection—a MS. which is certainly not earlier than the 9th or 10th century, and in which the commentary, written within the outlines of the Constellations, is in Rustic Capitals.

The impression which the writing of the Utrecht Psalter conveys to the eye is that, though the style is old, the forms of the letters are not true. There is a weakness and uncertainty about the strokes which force one to feel that the scribe is writing in a character to which he is not habitually accustomed. This impression increases the more the MS. is examined, until it amounts to a conviction that the writing is an imitation. An examination of the letters in detail will show, in the Rustic letters, certain deviations from original forms, which would not be found in genuine writing. The few leaves in the Augustine Psalter (Vespas. A. I.) which are written in this character, and which are themselves probably not earlier than the 8th century, impress the eye far more favourably. The uncial letters of the titles, &c., are also open to the same objection of want of regularity and finish.

This general impression that the MS. is an imitation is supported by points of detail: the texture of the vellum; the mechanical setting of the writing; the colour of the ink; the marks of punctuation; the numerous instances of abbreviation; and the form of the initial B at the head of the 1st Psalm.

The vellum, though not thick, is not of a fine texture. It is of a rather soft leather-like consistency, which bends easily under its own weight; and it has none of the smooth crispness which one looks for in very ancient MSS.

The writing is between double lines, not on single ones; the ruling being close-set. This circumstance is significant, supposing the scribe to be writing in an unaccustomed style, in which his hand would require guidance; for the writing is not of that exact regularity, which is found in ancient MSS. when written between lines. The arrangement of the initial letters of the verses, regularly placed beyond the margin of writing, is also a rather too artificial method to be consistent with great antiquity.

The ink is of the reddish brown tint which is in common use in the 9th century.

The usual marks of punctuation are the inverted semicolon (:) and the semicolon (;). These marks appear to be contemporaneous with the writing; the colour of the ink being the same. In ancient MSS. there are usually either no stops, or simply the full point.

Contractions are used throughout the MS.; and these are not limited to the abbreviations of sacred names and titles, which occur in the most ancient MSS., but comprise many forms which are only found in those of the 8th and subsequent centuries. One mark of contraction of peculiar form claims special notice, viz.: the sign used for the termination *ur*, which is never found in the earlier centuries. The ordinary mark of abbreviation (a waved or curved stroke) has the same uncertainty and want of uniformity and decision which is to be observed in the writing.

The initial B of the 1st Psalm belongs to the class which is found in Carolingian MSS. of the 9th century—gilt edged with red—though rather simpler in form.

With respect to the drawings with which the Psalter is illustrated it may be observed that the hands of at least three artists can be traced. There is no reason to suppose that they are later insertions, yet they approach more nearly in style to the light sketchy drawing of English MSS. of the 10th and 11th centuries, than to that of such MSS. as the Vatican Virgil or the Cotton Genesis, where the classical element is so strong. They therefore also tend to support the opinion that the Psalter is not of so great an antiquity as has been represented.

Judging from the style of the initial letter, taken in combination with other details, Mr. Thompson is of opinion that the MS. was probably written in the north-east of France.

He should further add that he does not consider the marginal drawings, which occur here and there, to be designs for, but rather sketches taken from, the illustrative drawings.

The Gospel fragments bound at the end of the Psalter have no connexion with it. The accident of their being in the same covers may be laid to the charge of their former owner, Sir Robert Cotton, who frequently bound together any two or more MSS. of similar size. The fine uncial writing of these fragments may be assigned to about the end of the 7th Century.

E. M. THOMPSON.

Letter of the Reverend H. O. Coxe, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford, to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, 15th July, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am told that the Trustees of the British Museum are wishing to have the opinion of those versed in early MSS. on the probable age of the Utrecht Psalter—and have been asked to say what are my own views upon this matter: I will only remark, that, MSS. of so great an age being comparatively rare, no expert would presume to approach the subject but with very great diffidence: I do this the more myself, as I have never seen a MS., save the one in question, written *throughout* in the character and tri-columnal form by which it is distinguished.

At the same time, I am well acquainted with the character itself, and specially with that of the initial letter at the commencement of the Psalter: the drawings also I have examined with considerable care—but, as I presume that the Trustees do not so much wish me to go into detail, as to the ground of my opinion, as to know what that opinion is, I will merely add that I can see no reason to conclude that the MS. was written before the commencement of the ninth century.

Believe me to be,

Yours very truly,

H. O. COXE.

Letter of the Reverend S. S. Lewis, M.A., F.S.A., Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, July 22nd, 1873.

DEAR SIR,

Having been requested by Mr. Bond to state the opinion that I have formed as to the date of the Utrecht Psalter, I beg to submit that, from certain points of similarity to a Psalter, No. 272, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, as well as from general considerations, I conclude that I do not feel warranted in assigning it to an earlier date than the 9th century.

Believe me to be

Yours very faithfully,

S. S. LEWIS.

Letter of Sir M. Digby Wyatt, to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum.

37, TAVISTOCK PLACE, W.C. July 19th, 1873.

SIR,

Understanding that the Trustees of the British Museum desire to have recorded expressions of opinion as to the date of the Utrecht Psalter, I venture to trouble you with a few lines on the subject; premising by congratulating the Trustees upon having taken the steps by which an opportunity has been afforded to those interested in such matters in this country, of critically examining one of the most important and curious manuscripts time has spared to us. I would venture also to express a hope that this exceptional action may hereafter be accepted as a precedent, and that similar opportunities may be afforded to eligible students of comparing some other very rare MSS. preserved in Foreign libraries, such for instance as the great rarities of Vienna, Rome, Paris, Milan, Munich, &c., with the treasures of the British Museum.

I have now examined the Utrecht Psalter with some attention, and feel justified thereby in adhering to the general views on the subject I had occasion to make public in the year 1861.* I then stated my impression that the writing, and especially an Uncial B heightened with gold which commences the first Psalm, would give it a date "certainly not earlier than the 7th or 8th Century" while the pen and ink drawings (or at any rate some of them) may have been "probably executed a century later." I then supposed the execution of the drawings to coincide with the Harleian Psalter No. 603 more closely than I find it to do on confronting the two Psalters. The style appears decidedly earlier in all the drawings of the first part of the volume in the Utrecht than in the Harleian, as may be noticed especially in the following details:—the knees of the figures, the draperies, the architecture, the characteristics of furniture,—some portions of the costume especially those of the feet and legs, and the continuity of outline expressing contours. The majority of the pictures in the Utrecht Psalter give every indication of having been copied from a much earlier, and probably less profusely illustrated, *painted* Psalter, produced under a decidedly Classical influence. The pictures in the Harleian although retaining the same features of composition exhibit more assertion of independence on the part of the *scribe* or *penman*, and less decidedly the influence of the *painter*. One might readily believe that the Harleian may have been executed by an illuminator having only the Utrecht (or a *replica* of it) under his eye; but I feel as strongly as an artist may do, that the Utrecht (at any rate as far as the text throughout the Psalter and the pictures, certainly as far as the series executed from the beginning by the original Artist's hand are concerned) was probably done, at about the middle of the 8th Century, and from a much more ancient model, written with fewer contractions, and more classically formed capitals, and with freely painted Illustrations originated under strong Latin early-Christian influence—from such a volume in fact as we may readily suppose one of the two Psalters to have been which St. Augustine may have brought to this country in the year 597.

A very interesting MS.—for comparison with both the Utrecht and Harleian Psalters, illustrating Saxon penmanship and painting, reproducing very early and original Latin painting and types, is to be found in the "Aratus" of the British Museum, which deceived Mr. Ottley into the belief of its Classical Antiquity, exactly as the somewhat analogous peculiarities of the Utrecht Psalter led to the impression on the part of the old compiler of the Cotton Catalogue that it dated from the period of Valentinian.

As my errors of judgment will no doubt be corrected by the learning of acute and learned Palæographers, I venture to express the crude opinion I have been induced to form as an artist on the subject.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

M. DIGBY WYATT.

* "The Art of Illuminating."

Opinion on the date of the Psalter, communicated by Professor J. O. Westwood, of Oxford, Author of "Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS." Folio, 1871, &c.

NOTES ON THE DATE OF THE UTRECHT PSALTER.

1. In the year 1858 I spent several days at Utrecht for the purpose of examining and making copies of portions of the text and drawings in the Cottonian Psalter Claudius C. 7. The result of this visit was published in the Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute for 1859, in which I observed that "the Psalms are written throughout in triple columns on each page, in rustic capitals," and that "a date not more recent than the 6th or 7th Century ought to be assigned to the MS.; but the initial letter of the first Psalm is a large golden uncial B ornamented in the genuine interlaced Saxon style."—I moreover noticed that the drawings had been inserted after the text had been written, as in several instances they ran close to or even upon the text below; adding "supposing the drawings to be later additions by an Anglo-Saxon artist, copying from an early Classical series of drawings, we should have no difficulty in referring the text to the 5th or 6th Century. The initial of the first Psalm however precludes us from assigning it to so early a date and would bring it to the 7th or 8th at the earliest, in which case the drawings may have been added in 9th or 10th Century;"—concluding my remarks by introducing it into the list of the six fine MSS. written in early Anglo-Saxon times, in the purest uncial and rustic capitals, but decorated with initials in the Anglo-Saxon or Irish style.

2. A similar opinion was expressed in my work on the "Miniatures and ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS." in which I gave a precise account of the Contents of the MS., stating that it included a copy of the Athanasian Creed, which has led to the present Controversy as to the age of the latter as affected by this MS., which has from my description been identified with the MS. described by Archbp. Ussher since supposed to have been lost. There are however several other circumstances which induce me to refer this MS. to the 8th or 9th Century at the earliest.

3. The space for the large initial B was certainly left by the scribe of the MS.—a proof that a later date than the 6th Century must be assigned to the MS. The early MSS. have no large initials.

4. The style of the ornamentation and the use of gold in the Initial B are also proofs of a late date. The latter circumstance is decidedly against the Irish origin of the initial advocated by Sir T. D. Hardy. A comparison of the Initial B with the same initial in the little Psalter of King Athelstan proves the contemporary date, if not the identical origin of the two MSS., which is further proved by the three lines of golden uncials following the initial B in both MSS.

5. The fact of the text containing the Gallican Version of the Psalter is no proof of the Continental origin of the MS.

6. The fact of a MS. being written entirely in Rustic Capitals is in my opinion not a sufficient proof of its being of the 4th or 5th Century as affirmed by the authors of the *Nouv. Tr. de Diplom.*, and hence I am not convinced by their laboured arguments (Vol. III. pp. 43 and 98) that the Golden Rustic Gospels No. 663 S. Germ. des Pres is of the Age of Clovis I. On the contrary I believe that MS. to be of the 8th or 9th Century. The use of the Rustic writing was common from the 6th to the 12th Century, scarcely a good MS. of that long period exists in which some portion is not in that character. In the 9th Century Gospels used for the Coronation of the Anglo-Saxon Kings (Tib. A. 11), there is an entire page (p. 112) written in golden rustic letters, and it is childish to affirm that because an entire MS. is so written, it must necessarily be of the 4th, 5th, or 6th Centuries.

7. Throughout the Utrecht Psalter the first line of each Psalm is written in *Uncial* letters. I maintain that such a mixture of two kinds of Writing does not occur in the fine MSS. of the

4th—6th Centuries—which are on the contrary, written throughout in one kind of writing.—This I take to be a sufficient proof why the golden Gospels, No. 663, above referred to are of a much later date than the time of Clovis I., because, as the Benedictines themselves have shewn, the MS. contains at least one passage written in fine ordinary Roman Capitals. (N. Tr. III. p. 43.)

8. The employment throughout the Utrecht Psalter of the † to divide each Verse into two portions for Chanting is another proof of its later date. I believe this mark cannot be traced back earlier than the end of the 7th Century.

9. The drawings of the Utrecht Psalter were, as I have stated above, added after the text had been written and space reserved for them—but I consider them not to be much subsequent to the writing. The style of the drawings is very peculiar—I know none in Continental MSS. which can be compared with them—whereas they accord entirely with Anglo-Saxon drawings, such as are contained in the Oxford Pseudo Cædmon published by Sir H. Ellis in the *Archæologia*, the Seasons in the Cotton MS. Julius A. 6. (Shaw's Dresses and Decorations, Vol. I.) and several other late 9th and 10th Century Anglo-Saxon MSS.

10. I consider that the subjects of many of the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter are such as would not have been tolerated in the 4th—7th Centuries—in fact previous to the 2nd Council of Nice—The representations of the Crucifixion—God the Father, the Trinity, the Blessed Virgin as an object of worship, &c. In this respect, compare the drawings on p. 109 and those of the Gloria in Excelsis and the Credo published by Sir T. D. Hardy with those in the Anglo-Saxon MS. Titus D. 27, especially that of the Triumph of the Trinity over Judas and Arius (copied by Dibdin, Bibl. Decam. Vol. I.)

JNO. O. WESTWOOD.

Oxford, July 22, 1873.

Letter of Mr. F. H. Dickinson to Mr. Bond.

KINGWESTON, SOMERTON, July 23, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR,

I did not examine to form (still less to express) any opinion on the age of it. I thought it must have been copied from an earlier MS. as the pictures which give the meaning of the following Psalm are frequently at the end of a page which could hardly have been the case with the MS. as originally designed. I compared it with Harl. 603, which in the earlier part seems to follow it page by page, and at the end to be copied from a different MS. and throughout illuminated in colour—which I conceive is the principal difference of the earlier part—and containing a different version of the Psalms. Compare the last page of Harleian MS., Ps. 144 verse 6 (143 in the MS.) where the Utrecht Psalter agrees with the Vulgate and therefore I suppose the Gallican Psalter, and the Harl. MS. with what Sabatier prints as the Itala. See also the very peculiar arrangement of the 119th Psalm (118 in MS.) in Harl. MS.

In the picture for the 23rd Psalm (22nd in MS.) there is a small difference. That in Utrecht gives handles to the cup which the copy leaves out. I incline to think that when the earlier picture was designed the reception of the eucharist in both kinds was common, but when the copy was made was forgotten, for the cup with handles is I believe the early chalice.

If there is any thing in this it may not be easy to assign any value to it as indicating the age of the Utrecht MS., because the time when communion in both kinds ceased differed probably in different places, and I prefer to mention it to you rather than the Principal Librarian, to whom you can mention it if you think it important.

I remain,

Yours truly,

F. H. DICKINSON.

E. A. Bond, Esq.

*Letter of the Reverend Canon C. A. Swainson to the Principal Librarian of the British Museum;
with a Report on the Psalter.*

CANON LANE, CHICHESTER, 11th August, 1873.

DEAR SIR,

At the request of some friends I have prepared the enclosed Report on the Utrecht Psalter, giving some literary reasons for my belief that it could not have been written long before the middle of the 9th Century. I trust that it may be deemed worthy of being added to the other Reports, of which I have heard, from Mr. Bond and others, and if these Reports are printed that it may be printed with them.

Believe me to be,

Yours very faithfully,

C. A. SWAINSON.

J. Winter Jones, Esq., &c. &c.

Report on the Utrecht Psalter.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

The beautiful Psalter now belonging to the Utrecht Library has engaged much of my attention since I was the fortunate medium in identifying it with the long missing Manuscript which though seen by Archbishop Ussher, was lost when Dr. Waterland wrote his work on the Athanasian Creed. I have already given some reasons why I cannot accept as conclusive the evidence which has been brought forward to assign the manuscript to the 6th Century. In the present report I shall avoid (with one exception) all arguments of a palæographical character, and merely adduce reasons of a literary nature which compel me to retain my opinion that the volume cannot be much earlier than the middle of the 9th Century, and may be considerably later.

1. I must first remove an impression which seems to prevail in more quarters than one, as to the Version of the Psalms which this book contains. It is the Gallican Version, so called merely because it obtained a general currency in the first instance in countries North of the Alps, and was thus distinguished from an earlier recension by Jerome which was retained for a time in the Churches of Rome and Italy. By a very pardonable confusion of terms, it has been supposed that when the *Romanus Ordo* and the *Romanus Cantus* spread North of the Alps the Roman Psalter must have gone with them.* The fact is that the three things were perfectly independent of each other, and indeed we have a complaint in the 11th Century of the inconvenience caused in Gaul by the attempt to adapt the Roman Chant to the Gallican Psalter. Thus, instead of the Gallican Psalter having been antiquated in the 9th Century, or the Gallican Psalter having been then long superseded by the Roman Psalter, (as has been somewhat hastily assumed), the state of the fact was that the Roman Psalter was gradually and steadily ousted by the Gallican. The latter spread from Gaul and Germany to Churches in the North of Italy, and was ultimately accepted by nearly all the Churches in communion with the Church of Rome. At all events at a recent visit to the British Museum, I compared the first five Psalms and others here and there in the Utrecht MS. with Tischendorf's recent edition of the Vulgate; and the differences which I noted between the two are not worthy of notice. Of course there were differences of spelling, but I believe that the only real discrepancy so far as I went was this: in the last verse of Psalm V. *tue* is found in the Vulgate and not in

* The *Romanus Ordo* contained services of Baptism, Ordination, &c. The *Roman Cantus* was the Roman (or Gregorian?) mode of chanting.

the Utrecht Psalter. Thus the argument that this Psalter must have been written before the middle of the 7th century because at that period the Gallican version was superseded, is founded on an entire misapprehension of the history.

2. I need not draw attention to another misconception, viz. that the handwriting of the Utrecht Manuscript had become obsolete for some centuries before the 9th. This is an entire mistake. But a comparison in another respect must be drawn between this MS. and the Harleian 603, which is considered to belong to the 10th or 11th Century, and which contains a large number of illuminations similar in outline to those which occur in the Utrecht Psalter. It has been considered that the Harleian pictures must have been imitated or copied from the Utrecht drawings. On careful examination I discovered some time ago that this could not be; because, of the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter to which I have on another occasion begged attention as belonging to the 9th or 10th Century or later, not one occurs in this Harleian Psalter: thus, taken as a whole, the Harleian pictures must be regarded as exhibiting an earlier type than the Utrecht drawings; and, if the former are of the 10th or 11th Century, the latter must be brought down much lower.

3. In regard to the general contents of the Utrecht Psalter, I have now examined or received notes of eighty or ninety Psalters. I have been particularly anxious to obtain information of the contents of every early known Psalter. I have succeeded far better than I could have expected, and the result is this: that there is not a single Psalter known, of a date anterior to the time of Charlemagne, which contains the Psalms, Canticles, and other contents of the Utrecht Psalter. After the time of Charlemagne, or, at all events after the accession of Charles the Bald, such Psalters rapidly multiply. Of course I need not point out that such a multiplication of copies indicates that in the monasteries and churches through Europe a need for such works had been created which had not existed previously, and the demand was being supplied. The earliest known order to recite the Faith of Athanasius at any of the hour services is assigned to the year 820.

4. Amongst the contents of the Psalter are the *Te Deum* and *Gloria in Excelsis* and the *Apostles' Creed*. These appear (with a few exceptions to which I shall allude below) in their modern received version. Thus their texts must have been fixed with some degree of unanimity when this Psalter was prepared (as the rubrics show) for use in the services of the Church. Taking them in detail I remark that

(1.) It is now well known that the text of the *Apostles' Creed* was not fixed definitely even in the 9th Century. In addition to the evidence furnished by Dr. Heurtley, I may mention that MS. Reg. 2 A. XX. in the Museum, of the 8th Century, contains an imperfect Creed. The one recited by Etherius and Beatus about the year 785 is given by Dr. Heurtley: the Creed contained in the "Book of Deer" of the 9th Century is imperfect. All these are found in such connections that we may feel confident that they were severally in use in their respective localities at the time, in their imperfect forms. To my mind these facts seem irreconcilable with the supposition that the Creed was used in its present complete form as in the Utrecht Psalter, any where, in the 6th Century.

(2.) So in regard to the *Te Deum*: we know that a hymn so entitled was directed to be used by Caesarius of Arles, in the 5th or 6th Century, but when we pass on to enquire into the ancient text of the *Te Deum*, we meet with the following facts. The older versions vary considerably from each other and from the modern received text, i.e. from the text in the Utrecht Psalter. One of these versions was retained to a late period in Ireland, as may be seen in the interesting Irish hymn book which was edited for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society by the late Dr. Todd. Other versions are noted in the Psalter published by Thomasius at Rome in 1696. On the whole I am led to believe that the text of the *Te Deum* as it is in the Utrecht Psalter was not fixed before the time of Charlemagne. It subsequently underwent

a conjectural emendation : the old *Suscepisti hominem* being altered at the suggestion of Abbo of Fleury (if my memory is correct) to *Susceptorus*.

(3.) A similar question arises in regard to the *Gloria in Excelsis*. This hymn came into Europe from the Eastern Morning hymn (as may be seen from the Irish hymn book referred to above); and the earlier notices of it are not sufficient to show when the text was altered. But the Utrecht manuscript gives it in its modern form, *i.e.* very different from the Irish Book. (I do not lay much stress on this.)

5. Every early Psalter that I know, which gives the *Te Deum* and gives also the occasion of its use, describes it as used on *Sundays* in Matutinis. The Utrecht Psalter describes it thus—"Hymnum ad Matutinis" (sic) *i.e.* daily at Matins. The only other copy amongst the earlier ones that so entitles it, which I have seen, is the 11th-Century-appendix to the Vespasian, A. I. We are told by Daniel that the *Te Deum* had not come into daily use in the Church of Rome in the 9th Century. Thus the title in the Utrecht Psalter leads me to the conclusion that at all events that title could not have been written before the 9th or 10th Century.

The titles were inserted by a scribe inferior in education to the writer of the Psalter. This is shown in many pages of the volume, and notably, on the last page where we find the "*Psalmus extra numerum*," beginning "*Pusillus eram*." The title there is *per se* unintelligible. But it bears evident internal marks that it was made up of two older titles, which I find elsewhere, and must therefore be of later date than both of them—which fact seems again inconsistent with the theory that the book was completed in the 6th Century.

Of course I am aware that these titles were inserted after the Psalms were written, and that it is possible that two, three or even four centuries may have elapsed between the two epochs. But the weakness of my argument here does not affect the strength of my earlier position that the versions of the *Te Deum* and of the Apostles' Creed, and also (as I believe) of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, as found in the Psalter, combine to show that the contents of the Psalter could not have been arranged nor could the Psalter have been written long before the year 800.

In consequence of a curious but unintelligible reading in the *Te Deum*,
TE' ERGO SCAE QUESUMUS TUIS FAMULIS, &c.
resembling one in Galba A. XVIII.

TE ERGO SCE Q; TUIS FAMULIS,
I think it may be worthy of a thought to compare the two MSS. more carefully together, so as to learn whether they are copied one from the other, or from the same original. The comparison might help to determine the locality where this Psalter was written. There is a somewhat striking resemblance between the initial B in the BEATUS VIR, in the two volumes. The position of the *Te Deum* differs: the other contents occur (I believe) in the same order.

There will be ample opportunity hereafter to make this and other comparisons, when the facsimile (permission to take which has been so generously granted by the authorities of the Library at Utrecht) is in the hands of the subscribers.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

C. A. SWAINSON,

Canon Residentiary of Chichester Cathedral,
and Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.

P.S. I would add that Mabillon notes that Gregory of Tours, in quoting the Psalms, quotes a version different from the Gallican: his hypothesis was that the Gallican version was introduced North of the Alps by Boniface, *i.e.* about the middle of the eighth century.—The short

table of contents which ascribes the drawings of the Utrecht Psalter to the time of Valentinian seems to me to be in the same handwriting as "Claudius C. 7" on the first folio, *i.e.* of the time of Sir Robert Cotton. It is therefore of value only as expressing an opinion of the seventeenth century.

CENUTE
POSTOLA ME ET DABO TI
BIGENTES HEREDITATEM
TUAM ET POSSESSIONEM
TUAM TERMINO TERRAE
RECESIOS IN VIRGA TERRAE
IAM QUAMUAS FIGULI
CONFRINGES IOS

ET NUNC REGES INTELLICI
TE HERUDIMINI QUI IN
DICATI TERRAM
SERVITI DNO IN TIMORE
ET EXULTATE IN TREMO
RE
DRAHENDI TE DISCI
PLINAM NE QUANDO

IRASCATUR DNS
REATIS DE INIUSTIA
CUM EXARSERIT IN ANI
IRAEIUS BEATIO ME
QUI CONFIDUNT IN EO

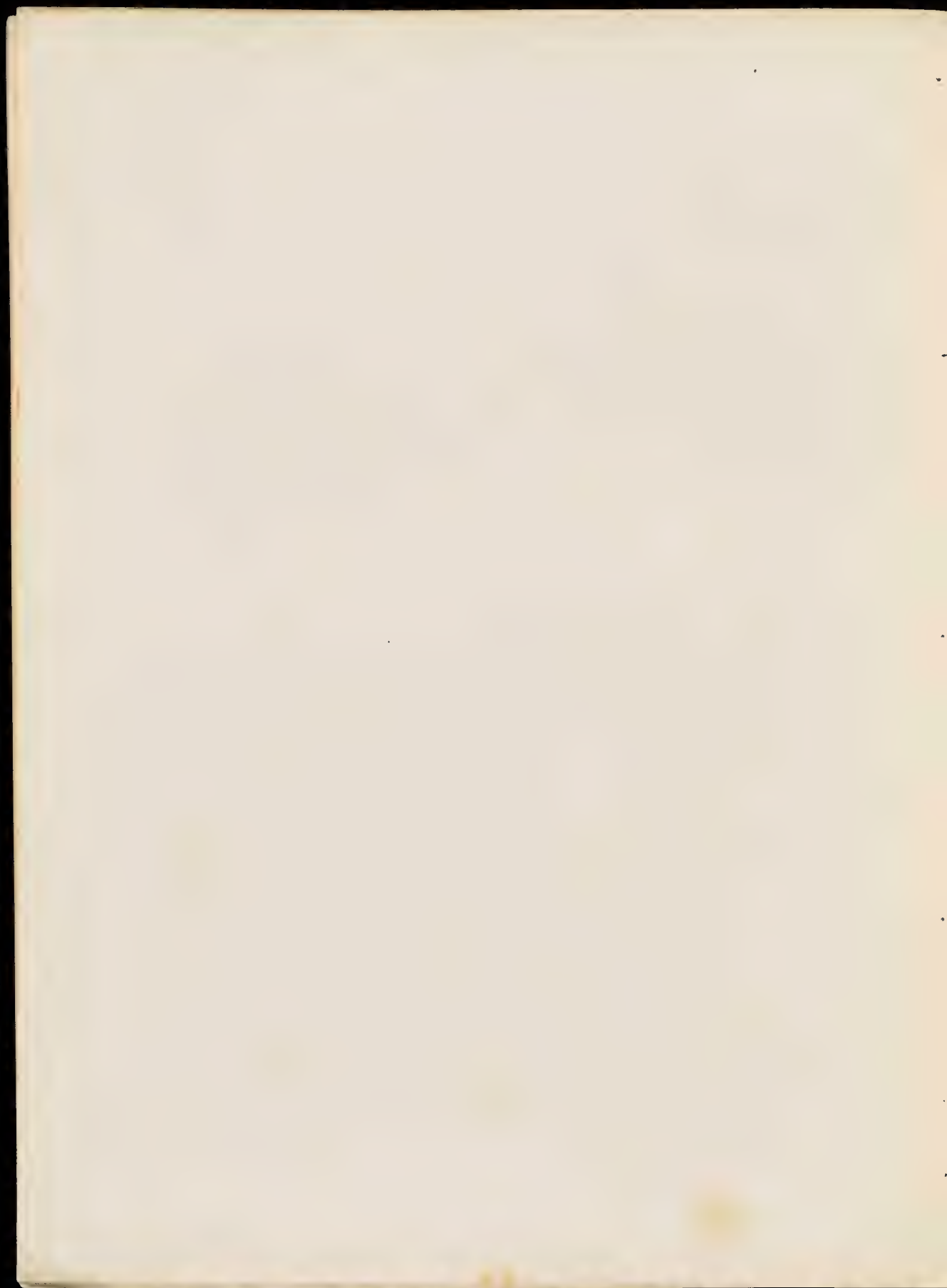


PLICATI SUNT QUI TRIBU
LANT ME MULTI INSUR
CUNT AD VERSUM ME
MULTI DICUNT ANIMAE
MEAE NON EST SALUS IPSI
INDOLEUS
TU AUTEM DNE SUSCEPTOR

MEUS GLORIA ME ET
EXALTANS CAPUT MEUM
OC ME AD DNM CLAMA
VI ET EXAUDIUIT ME DE
MONTES COSUO
CODORMIUIT SOPORA
TUSSU ET EXSURREXI
QUI AD DNM SUSCEPIT ME

NON TIMEBO MILLIA POPULI
CIRCUDANTIS ME EXSUR
GEDNES ALUM ME AC DMS
QMTU PERCUSSISTI OMES AD
VERSANTES MIHI SINE CAU
SA DENTES PECCATORUM
CONTRIVISTI
ONI EST SALUS ET SUPER POM
ITUUBI IN DICTIO TUA







DNS RECREAUIT EX
SULT TERRA LAETENTUR
INSULAE MULTAE

NUBES ET CALIGO IN CIRCUITU
IUSTITIAE IUDICIUM CORRE
CTIONIS EIVS

IGNIS ANTE IPSUM PRACEDIT
ET INFLAMMABIT IN CIRCU
ITU INIMICORUM EIVS

ADLUXERUNT FULGURA EIVS
ORBITERRAE VIDIT ET COM
MOTA EST TERRA

QUONIAM TESSUTAE FLUXERUNT

QUANDO TERRAE RES
ALACEDNI ALACEDNI
OMNIS TERRA

ADNUNCIAUERUNT CAELI IUS
TITIA MEIUS ET VIDERUNT
OMNIS POPULI GLORIA MEIUS

CONFUNDANT OMNES QUI AD
ORANT SCULPTILIA QUI CLORI
ANTUR IN SIMULACRIS

ADORATE IUS OMNES ANGELI EIVS
AUDIUIT ET LAETATA EST SION
ET EXULTAUERUNT ILLI ANTE

DEI PROPTER IUDICIUM ADNI
QUANTUDNIS ALTISSIMUS SUPER

TITUTA EST
OMNIS TERRA NIMIS EX
ALTATUS ES SUPER OMNES DEOS

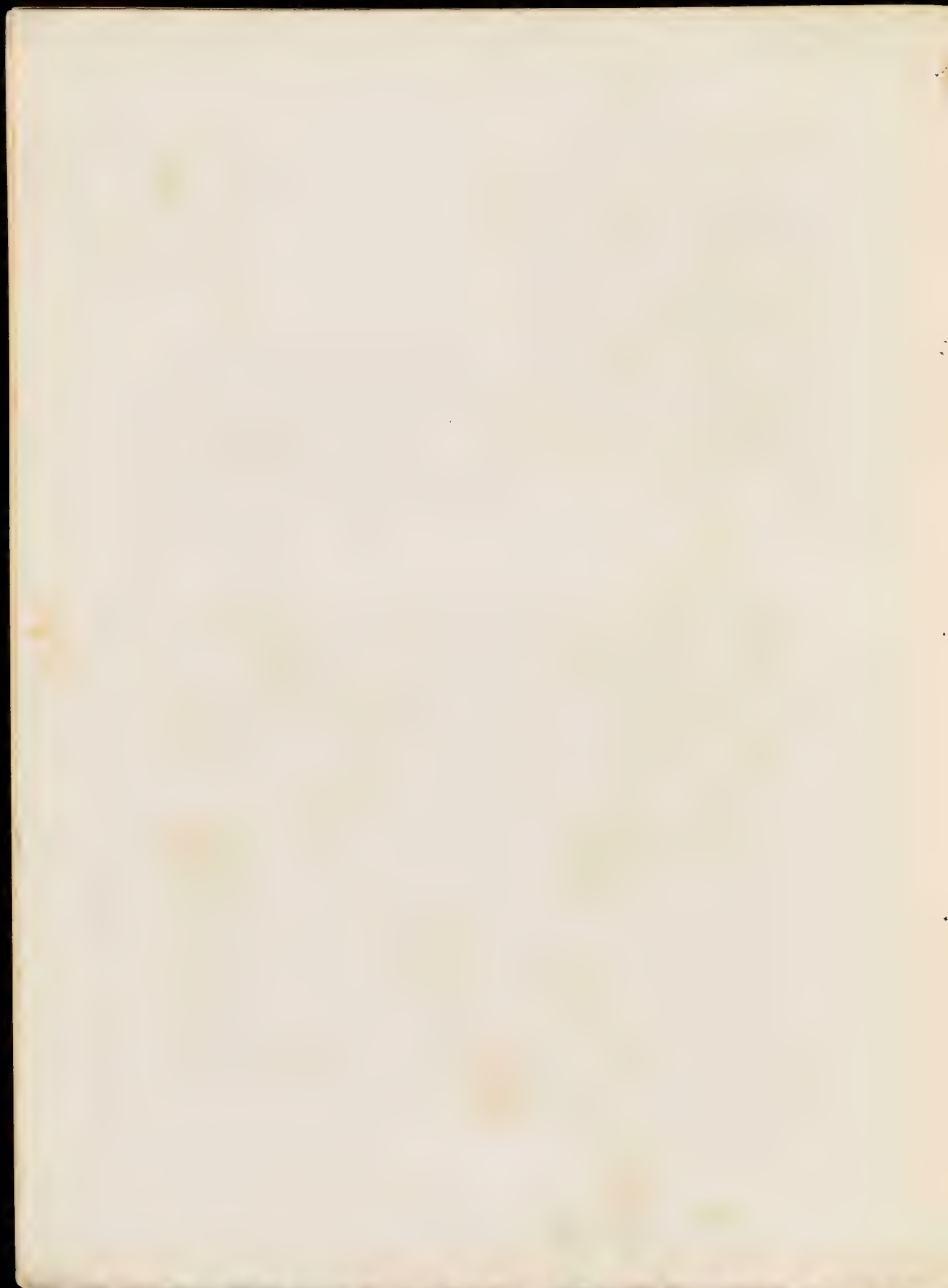
QUID ILLEGITIS DOMINE MODI TMA
LUM CUSTODITUS ANIMAS

SCORUM SUORUM DE MANU
PECCATORUM LIBERABIT

EOS
LUX ORTA EST IUS TO ET REC
TIS CORDE LAETITIA

LAETAMINI IUS TI IN DOMO
ET CONFITEMINI MEMORIAM
SCIFICATIONIS EIVS





ET MEMOR FUIT TESTAMENTI
SUI ET PAE NEUITIUM SECUN
DUM MULTITUDINEM MISERI
CORDIAE SUAE;

ET IDEITE OS IN MISERICORDIAS
IN CONSPPECTU OMNIUM

QUI CONSPIRANTIOS;
SALUOS FAC NOS DNE S NOST
ET CONGREGA NOS DENATI
OMIBUS;
UT CONFITEAMUR NOMINI
SCOTO ET GLORIEMUR

IN LAUDE TUA;
BENEDICTUS DNE S ISRAEL
A SACULO ET USQUE IN SACU
LUM ET DICET OMNIS POPU
LUS FIAT FIAT;



CVI ALLELUIA

CONFITEMINI DNO
QNM BONUS QNM INSAE
CULUM MISERICORDIAE IUS

DICANT QUI REDIMPTI SUNT
AD DNO QUOS REDIMPT DE
MANU INIMICI DEREGIO
NIBUS CONGREGAUIT EOS

ASOLIS ORTU ET OCCASU
ABAQUILONE ET MARI

ERRAVERUNT IN SOLITUDI
NE IN INAQUOSO VIAM
CIVITATIS HABITACULI
NON INVENTERUNT;

ESURIENTES ET SITIENTES;
ANIMAE EORUM IN IPSIS
DEFECIT

ET CLAMAUERUNT AD DNM
CUM TRIBULARENTUR
ET DE NECESSITATIBUS EORUM
ERIPUIT EOS;

ET DEDUXIT EOS IN VIAM REC
TAM UT IRENT IN CIVITA
TEM HABITATIONIS;

CONFITEANTUR DNO MISE
RICORDIAE IUS ET MIRA
BILLAE IUS FILII HOMINU

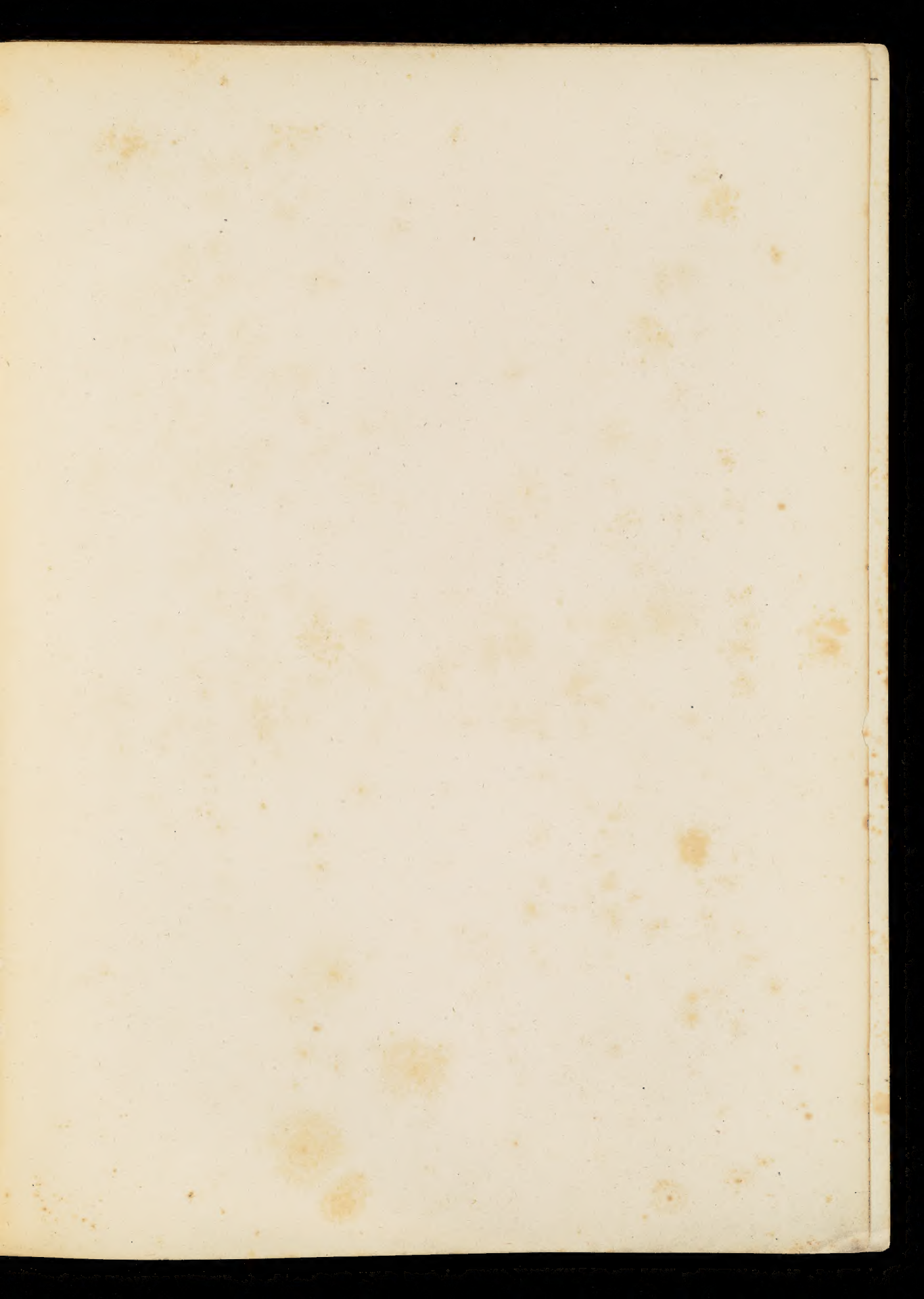
QUIASATI AVIT ANIMAM
INANEM ET ANIMAM ESU
RIENTEM SATIAVIT BONIS

SEDENTES IN TENEBRIS ET UM
BRAMORTIS VINCITOS IN
MENDICITATE ET FERRO;

QUIA EXACERVAVERUNT
ELOQUIADI ET CONSILIUM
ALTISSIMI IRRITAUERUNT

ET THUMILIATUM EST IN LABO
RIBUS COREORUM IN FIR
MATI SUNT NIE FUIT QUIAD
IUVARET;





~~phi~~

5-
2

